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THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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THE PUBLIC SCHOOL: THE COMMON DENOMINATOR

C. Frederick Pertsch

The principle of equality of educational opportunity has long been a controlling element in the development of the public schools of this country. In 1635, not long after its settlement, attempts were made in New Amsterdam to organize public, tax-supported elementary schools. These efforts antedated the passage of the first general school law in Massachusetts in 1647. Prior to its occupation by the British, there is reason to believe that several tax-supported grade schools were in operation in New Amsterdam. Thereafter and throughout the period of British rule, educational developments were primarily concerned with the creation of endowed Latin grammar schools, institutions that were aristocratic in character in that they served the few rather than the many.

The successful termination of the Revolutionary War did not result in any immediate legislation to establish a system of free, tax-supported grade schools throughout the commonwealth of New York. While it is true that an organization known as the Regents of the University of the State of New York was legislated into being in 1784, it must be noted that the Regents were

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authorized merely to charter and control institutions of the secondary level and above. Effective legislation mandating state funds in order to bring the advantages of a state-wide system of common schools within the reach of every child was finally enacted in the Law of 1812. Provision was also made by the legislature in 1812 for the position of State Superintendent of Common Schools. Thereafter, public attention was increasingly centered upon the issue of guaranteeing and supporting a state-wide system of free common schools for all the children. The Laws of 1851, 1867, 1902, 1909, 1925, 1927, and 1945 are milestones in the continuing drive to this end. What is more, the vexing jurisdictional disputes between the Regents and the authorities responsible for the state-wide supervision of the common schools were resolved by the passage of the Unification Act of 1904. This act merged the Regents and the Department of Education into a single Education Department under the Board of Regents of which the Commissioner of Education was the executive officer.

If the public school is truly to serve as the common denominator of the educational program, it must provide equality of educational opportunity for all whom it is designated to serve regardless of differences in place of residence, economic status, race, color, or creed. This is the goal toward which public-school systems and their programs must steadily move. It is generally conceded that progress in this direction is expedited when the public-school system is adequately financed by public funds, supported by widespread public interest, and staffed by competent personnel.

A state-aid program tends to equalize the educational opportunities offered by the school districts of the state. By and large, it tends to assure a minimum acceptable program in these school districts. Some differences remain in the scope and character of the educational programs offered, yet, in general, a degree of equity is achieved. From the national viewpoint, however, there

are vast differences in the ability of the states to support an adequate program. Norton and Lawlor reveal the fact that the best financed school systems in the nation were spending \$6,000 per classroom unit in 1940 as against expenditures of \$100 or less in the poorest systems. As long as such startling discrepancies in expenditure exist, the public schools of the nation cannot hope to be the common denominator of an acceptable educational program.

Despite these handicaps, the public schools of the nation are seeking to extend their services by (a) meeting the needs of all the children within the recognized age ranges and (b) by expanding the age range of the groups to be served. One development, lateral in character, is concerned with meeting the needs of all the children and youth of elementary- and high-school age. The other development, vertical in character, is primarily interested in integrating the nursery school, junior college, and adult education into the public-school program.

Let us address our attention to the first, the lateral, type of expansion. Nation-wide statistics for the school year 1939-1940 reveal the fact that there were almost two million children, six to fifteen years of age, who were not attending a school of any kind. Generally speaking, the poorer and more backward communities make little, if any, provision for educating the child of kindergarten age, the physically handicapped child, the mentally subnormal child and the child who presents problems of behavior. In this connection, the 1948 Yearbook of the American Association of School Administrators estimates that less than 10 per cent of the number of children in these groups, the country over, are serviced by some type of specialized program in the public schools.

In general, the larger metropolitan cities have led the way in developing specialized programs for exceptional children. New York City, for example, operates a program of special classes and special schools on a city-wide basis. Classes for the hospitalized,

the partially sighted, the deaf, the hard of hearing, the crippled, the cardiac, the children of low vitality, the mentally subnormal, and the predelinquent are currently in operation. Provision is also made for the individual instruction of children who are home-bound. The most recent venture in the many-sided effort to meet the needs of all the children in New York City is the organization of the so-called "600" schools, the purpose of which is the rehabilitation and education of boys presenting difficult problems of maladjustment and behavior. What the New York City school system is doing in specialized education is being duplicated to a degree in the larger cities of the country. There is an urgent need to extend the advantages of specialized education to all communities, rural, village, town, and city, in the effort to realize equality of educational opportunity for all the children.

Before the turn of the century, the high school was essentially a preparatory school for admission to college. Its curriculum centered about the teaching of Latin and Greek, mathematics, the sciences, and the humanities. It was designed to appeal to the select few rather than the many. This is no longer true. In the fifty-year period between 1890 and 1940, registration in the public high schools of the United States rose from 200,000 to 6,600,000, a thirtyfold increase.

These statistics indicate that the high schools have become part of our system of common schools. They represent, for the vast majority of American youth, their final experience with formal schooling. Within the past half century, the high schools have increasingly become terminal institutions for the many rather than preparatory institutions for the few. In conformity with this trend, the primary function of the high schools must be that of meeting the needs of all American youth.

That this function is not fully realized is clearly indicated by the fact that at least 50 per cent of the students who enter high school fail to graduate. One of the major causes for dropping out

is the inability of the family to maintain the student at school. Expenditures for carfare, lunch, general-organization membership, club activities are estimated to average from \$50 to \$100 during the high-school year. In normal times, it is not too difficult for high-school youth to meet these expenditures through part-time work. However, during periods of economic recession or depression, part-time opportunities dry up. It is recommended that funds be made available to the school authorities to enable needy high-school students to earn enough in school to enable them to continue to attend.

Of even greater importance in retaining high-school youth in school is the effort to broaden and enrich the curriculum. Commercial courses, technical courses, courses in the creative and applied arts, courses in the semiskilled and skilled trades should be included as an integral part of the over-all program. There is little likelihood that the high schools will succeed in retaining youth in the schools unless they offer a program that meets their needs and their interests.

Elementary schools and high schools, alike, must key their programs to certain basic objectives. The first objective is that of self-realization. Each child or youth must be helped to realize his potentialities with respect to character, physical health, mental and emotional well-being. The development of competence in human relationships is a second objective. Ours is a co-operative society, the success and advancement of which are largely determined by the ability of each person to work effectively with others, regardless of differences in race, color, creed, or economic condition. The development of economic efficiency and insight is a third major objective of education. The attainment of high-level skills in producing, using, and purchasing is essential if our country is to continue to maintain a position of leadership in the solution of domestic and international affairs. The final objective of public education is the development of civic responsibility to the com-

munity, state, and nation—the essential ingredient of responsible freedom.

Any doubts about the ability of public education to sell itself and its values to those whom it is designed to serve may be readily resolved by a review of its increase in holding power over the past fifty years. At the turn of the century, four years of formal schooling was the average period of education for the American adult. By the First World War, the average number of years of schooling had advanced to six years. According to the 1940 census figures, eight years of schooling was the average educational background. More recent figures for the metropolitan centers reveal ten years of schooling as the average achievement of American youth. There is every reason to believe that, if the current trend continues, an average of twelve years of schooling, the equivalent of high-school graduation, will be achieved by 1980 or earlier, on a nation-wide basis.

The second type of expansion in public education, the vertical expansion, is concerned with the extension of the work of the public schools upward into the junior-college grades and downward into the so-called preschool years. The extension upward is also accompanied by an expansion of services in the field of adult education.

The addition of the junior-college grades, XIII and XIV, to the public-school setup will permit the postponement of specialized instruction until the beginning of grade XI. Common practice at the present time is to launch the program of specialized instruction, academic, commercial, technical, vocational, at the beginning of grade X. Educators agree that, in general, it is advisable to defer the making of a choice regarding specialized instruction to the end of grade XI when the student is sixteen years of age. By and large, the more mature the student, the more intelligent the choice with respect to specialized education. Equally important is the fact that the scope and content of a program of general edu-

cation have broadened to such an extent as to justify the absorption of the tenth grade for that purpose.

The establishment of a junior-college program makes it possible for interested students to secure training on the semiprofessional level in commercial, technical, and trade areas. An example in point is the Fashion Institute at the Central High School of Needle Trades in New York City. The proposed Veterans Institutes in New York State will present programs to 5,000 students on the junior-college or technical-institute level in various vocational areas. Where school systems include specialized high schools, the extension of the public schools to the junior-college level presents no insurmountable difficulties.

Adult education encompasses all the formal and informal educational efforts that take place after the period of compulsory education has ended. Whereas adult education was originally limited to making the immigrant literate and to preparing him for citizenship, it has now widened its program to meet the needs of all adults. A high degree of sensitivity to adult needs and of flexibility is required for the success of any adult educational program. The advice and counsel of representative adults and adult groups should be obtained and utilized in setting up a program. When this is done, it is amazing to see how much good can be accomplished in the education of adults on the basis of limited appropriations.

Few educational developments have aroused greater public attention and controversy than the proposal to extend public education downward to the nursery-school level. The nursery-school program for children from two to five years of age originated in colleges and universities interested in child growth and development. During the depression, the Works Progress Administration encouraged the development of prekindergarten classes. More recently, during the Second World War, additional impetus was given to the establishment of nursery-school classes under the

provisions of the Lanham Act. Yet the expansion of the nursery-school movement has been slow. Recent estimates indicate that not more than 10 per cent of the children aged two to five are now accommodated in nursery school or kindergarten, the majority in the large cities. Furthermore, only 20 per cent of the five-year-old children the nation over can be enrolled in kindergarten under existing facilities.

Educators agree that early identification and treatment of handicaps and disorders offer the most promising returns. Early childhood presents a golden opportunity for ironing out incipient tendencies toward emotional, social, and moral maladjustment. All too often children who are admitted to the first grade without previous schooling present serious problems in attitude and behavior which the parents have overlooked and failed to have treated. Such untoward developments might well be eliminated or reduced on the nursery-school or kindergarten level, were such facilities available to all the children.

It is estimated that expenditures amounting to a half-billion dollars would be required to assure an acceptable program of kindergarten and nursery-school education on a nation-wide scale. Yet the problem of obtaining adequate financial support is not as difficult as that of overcoming the antipathy of a large segment of the public to what appears to be a drastic step in the direction of state control of children. If the program of early childhood education is to make demonstrable progress within the next decade, it is essential that the basic rights of parents to supervise the development of their children during their first five years be guaranteed. Important as it is at all times, co-operation between the home and the school is uniquely important during early childhood. In this connection, it should be pointed out that a program of parental education must be an intrinsic part of any worthwhile program of early childhood education.

Each postwar period in our history has been marked by a

notable expansion in the scope and functioning of the public schools. The current postwar period finds the public schools engaged in an epoch-making effort toward meeting the needs of all the children of elementary- and secondary-school age and toward extending its field of activity to the preschool and adult levels. These dynamic developments point up the enduring and vital contributions which the public schools can and must make to the continuing advancement of the American way of life.

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AMERICAN EDUCATION, THE CONTRIBUTION TO "THE DIGNITY AND WORTH OF THE INDIVIDUAL"

Anna Porter Burrell

Our inheritance of freedom originated in the desire of a small group of people to live their own lives as individuals "responsible only to God and their neighbors." For this desire, they willingly toiled and underwent untold hardships. The age-old tenet of "the dignity and worth of the individual" was embodied in the philosophies of such men as Paine, Jefferson, and Lincoln. It is predicated on the acceptance of *human* values and the evaluation of man for what he is rather than by the extraneous yardsticks of birth and economic position. The integrity of the individual is held sacred. That man and society are perfectible, that progress is possible, is taken for granted. Each person is assumed to be equal in rights, both ethic and legal, and to be entitled to equal, though not necessarily identical, opportunity for developing his unique potentialities to the highest level.

The American ideal remains, although it has changed and is changing in application. Each century has seen a broadening and deepening interpretation of the democratic concept as the population has progressed from the relative homogeneity of the early seventeenth-century society to the heterogeneity of today. Early in America's life, many of the people were relatively close in ideal, aims, and adventuresomeness of spirit, as well as in national background. They were pioneers, grappling with the wilderness, willing to accept present privation for the sake of their future. Their recognition of the worth of the individual was basically in terms of their own homogeneous group.

Thomas Jefferson was the great proponent during the eighteenth century of the rights of man and the dignity of the individual. His deep-seated faith in people led him to espouse the liberal cause. He trusted "the people" as the foundation and ultimate security of self-governing institutions. The enlightenment

of the people as a whole was his aim. Nevertheless, even Jefferson was not prepared to extend the concept of equality to include all. His emphasis was upon equality for freeholders rather than workers, although he recognized to a great extent the rights of the latter.

During the Industrial Revolution hand power gave way to machine power. This change brought about a greater concentration of people in northern cities. Though not landowners, they sought and won the right to vote. Recognition of the political rights of nonproperty owners and extension of the ideal of equal opportunity to include certain economic rights followed with the introduction of craft and trade unions during the first half of the nineteenth century. The reaction of man toward the machine involved the rebuilding of collective groups and, to a considerable extent, of the individual personality, and the reorientation of all forms of thought and social activity. During this era the Civil War brought theoretical abolition of the color line as a bar to freedom, equality, and respect. Liberation of the last large disfranchised group in America came with the Woman Suffrage Amendment following the First World War, a milestone in the sporadic advance of the ideal of individual dignity and worth.

The right to grow up without exploitation was given recognition in child-labor restrictions, and the constitutionality of the Fair Labor Standards Act was established in 1941. Rulings of the Fair Employment Practices Commission, a wartime federal agency set up in 1943, and permanent measures enacted in a few states were calculated to give the same employment opportunities to all racial, national, and religious groups.

The liberation of large segments of the American people, the worker, the Negro, the woman, and the child, indicate the broadening base of political, economic, and social participation, and the share that racial, national, and religious groups are playing in the working out of American democracy. The ideal is chang-

ing in emphasis and direction from the "rugged individualism" of the early days to the not so rugged individualism of today. Claims that every individual has an unlimited right to be different without consideration for others are generally frowned upon today. The concept now emphasizes individuality to the extent and in the areas where it is good for both the individual and the group. Group action conversely must be for group purposes that do not negate the rights of the individual or minimize individual differences that are cherished.

Parallel with the development of the principles of American democracy came changes in American education stressing the concepts of the worth of the individual. Formerly, education was concerned almost completely with the wealthy and the verbally brilliant. Education in the Colonies was primarily supported by various authoritarian groups. In New England, where public education began, religious schools were founded. In the Southern Colonies, wealthy landlords hired private tutors to instruct their own children and grudgingly established inferior charity schools for the poor. In towns and small farms along the eastern coast the "bound boy" fared a little better, for the apprenticeship system was the nearest approach to universal education which America could claim for nearly two centuries. Such educational arrangements were a far cry from schools of today where there has been a ceaseless struggle for the extension of education to all.

The changing concept brought about new processes designed to serve all or nearly all of the people. The influence of the frontier and wilderness and the substantial economic and social equality of the people began to break down Old World class barriers in education. Second-generation colonists began to demand American schools that would educate their children for their day and location. Many boys and girls found no schools equipped to teach what they most needed; others were financially unable to pay for the education offered. Finally, free, tax-sup-

ported public schools began to open to many regardless of creed or condition, and universal education was envisioned.

During the past fifty years great strides have been made in the direction of developing a genuinely American education. The existence of free schools from kindergarten to university in many of the states is an effective and living demonstration on the part of democratic society of its obligation to provide for the education of its people. As American education developed, working toward the goal of the recognition of the individual, a series of changes were noted.

Economic Status

Economic status was the first emphasis for selection of those to be educated. Those whose parents could afford tutors or tuition to privately operated seminaries received education. The "gentlemen and gentlewomen" were given educations because they came from families that could afford to pay for instruction.

The Bright versus the Dull

The bright versus the dull was the next concern of the educational system. Schools were geared for a long period to the verbally brilliant. Emphasis was placed on the narrow aspect of intelligence at this time. In the remote past, intelligence was regarded as a special gift of generous gods to man, or at least to the upper classes of men. According to this idea, the divine spark of intelligence could be trusted to guide humanity continuously in the path of social progress. For a time educators gave little or no attention to mechanical, artistic, or musical abilities of the individual. Concern was with the so-called intellectual abilities and one who did not possess these in marked degree was considered dull and therefore little was offered in the field of education to meet his needs. The schools seemed to function as a screening device, a classification center, and held out to the intellectual an opportunity for secondary and higher education.

The emphasis placed on testing in the first quarter of the twentieth century was aimed not so much at evaluating the individual but to place him within a quantitative class, which obscured truly individualized traits. Our mechanical, industrialized civilization was concerned with averages and percentages. Little attention was given to making use of individual intelligence, of the needs, interests, and abilities that take the child from where he is and carry him forward.

Health Concern

The ideal of the worth and integrity of the individual was further implemented by a serious concern for the health of America's children. Realizing that a changing society requires periodic reinterpretation of the nature of this responsibility, special attention has been given to the matter of the individual's health. The span of life has been lengthened by modern science and economy. The improvement of personal health and physical fitness has been repeatedly stated as an important objective for secondary education. It is one of the seven cardinal principles of education. This policy was developed on the theory that physical fitness influences all other phases of fitness and of course is affected by them. It then becomes an important tool toward the development of the individual in his total picture. For that reason schools place great stress on health. A democracy with its respect for individual life and happiness is dedicated to the proposition that all children should be wellborn, carefully guarded against avoidable infections, properly nourished in body and mind, and given an environment in which they can grow in healthful maturity and have a chance to live long, happily, and well. Safety from mental and physical disease suggests safety from accidents. It is believed that the educated person will cherish a sincere interest not only in his own health but in maintaining the health standards of the entire community.

The Depression and Economics

The schools of the nation were offered a great challenge following the economic collapse of 1929. They worked not only to meet the physical but also the social and economic needs of children shattered by poor housing, inadequate food, lack of dental and medical care, and the widening circle of unemployment. Lunches helped the hungry child who came to school without breakfast or without prospects of much for supper. Carfare funds permitted children living at distances to continue their schooling. Teachers were aware that undernourished children, needing medical and dental care, fatigued and with lowered vitality, were in no condition to learn, and care was taken to provide for these children. Social workers, guidance counselors, and teachers tried to meet the needs and to bolster the courage not only of the children but, wherever possible, their parents also.

The Curriculum

The changing curriculum is another step in the evolution of education toward recognizing the worth and integrity of every individual regardless of his socioeconomic status. As long as the function of the elementary schools was simply to teach the three R's and that of the secondary schools and colleges to prepare a professional elite, the educational institutions of the country derived few important implications from the ideal of the individual's right to self-determination, to freedom of choice, and his freedom to grow. When educators began to revolt against traditional subject matter and authoritarian methods they affirmed the right of the individual to exercise his own discretion, to follow his own interests in choosing the areas of experience in school. This right to self-determination was extended even into elementary education.

The development of the school curriculum cannot be traced through the centuries without noting that important changes

have occurred. Four outstanding motivations become apparent in the overview of the evolution of the curriculum in its developing recognition of the individual.

The religious motivation was stressed in the subject matter from 1635 to 1770. During this period, schools were essentially class institutions as illustrated by the roster of Harvard University; there the students were listed according to social standing. Girls could secure only rudimentary training until the academies appeared.

Though the curriculum of the schools did not change appreciably during the first century and a half of the life of the nation, changes in economy, social life, political beliefs, and educational practices were occurring especially in the last fifty years of this period, 1770-1860. This political motivation was reinforced by two movements which have been fundamental in American life; namely, the extension to all citizens of the right to vote, and the development of "rugged individualism." Beginning in earnest around 1820 the struggle for free education at public expense was not definitely decided until after the middle of the nineteenth century.

Looking at the curriculum development from 1860 to 1920, the utilitarian motive was found to predominate in American education. Evidence of this is found in the establishment of the public high school with emphasis upon its function for preparation for immediate work as well as for college; the establishment of specialized schools, such as commercial and technical high schools. More and more, subjects of practical nature were admitted to the secondary-school curriculum (1890) with accompanying features of much free election.

Full victory for the utilitarians was not achieved until after 1910 when experimental practices in psychology and education shifted the focus from subject matter to the child. The psychologists made notable contributions to the curriculum. The psy-

chology of individual differences was formulated during the second decade of the twentieth century. Attention was called to the fact that no two individuals can be required to follow the same pattern of growth and development. Each pupil was recognized as having his own rate of learning and growth.

Mass education, 1920 to date, is a further example of new meanings given to the idea of respect for the individual. The dominating factor in educational philosophy in America today is the desire to secure the equalization of educational opportunity for all children throughout the nation. This equalization of educational opportunity means equalization of length of the school term, of school facilities, and good instruction for all children by properly qualified teachers. Some educational leaders have given broader meaning to the term defining it as an attempt by educators to widen the horizon and extend the base of the curriculum. They believe that each child should have the opportunity, under competent guidance, to develop fully and richly as an individual and as a co-operating member of an interdependent society. These educators maintain that the school curriculum instead of being "subject-minded" should be "child-centered."

The influence of textbooks on the curriculum is powerful and vice versa. Many textbooks are now showing good examples of the change that came about gradually through the influence of different educational emphases.

Emotional Factors

Emphases on the economic status, verbal intelligence, and health of the individual, as well as on the curriculum, are still receiving attention in our schools today. In addition to these emphases, concern is being given at the present time to the emotional needs of the individual. The importance of being "well-informed" is not disparaged in the present educational systems. No person will deny the desirability of training children to use

language accurately and effectively, to understand quantitative relationships, and to manipulate figures speedily and accurately. But evidence exists that these skills can be acquired most easily and rapidly as by-products of other activities and experiences. When children's emotional needs are met and when they are eager to discover something which seems important to their own lives, and needs, they are quick to acquire the skills that will help them learn and assimilate experience. By changing the orientation of the early years in school to make them contribute more directly to meeting the needs of the individual, we also accomplish more effectively the training of pupils in the fundamental skills.

The needs manifested by growing individuals are causing a considerable modification of the school curriculum and educational techniques. Curricular reorganization is being undertaken to give attention to maladjustment in terms of excessive deprivation, frustration, or insecurity which denies the child opportunity to fulfill the basic needs of his developing personality. The program and life of the school is becoming such, in many instances, as to assign subject matter and skills to the service of personality development, critical social action, values, and techniques of co-operative living. Such an approach does not underestimate the value of scholarship and does not limit the scope of content. It stresses the necessity to give adequate attention to the emotional needs.

Concern for the Individual in the Group

Respect for individual worth is important, but equally important is the respect the individual gives to the group. It is necessary to study the child in relation to the group and the group situation. Each aspect of the cultural pattern must be seen in terms of what it means to the growing individual in it; each individual must be studied in terms of what he is looking for and

receiving from the pattern about him. Oddly enough, the individual-centered culture actually has no concern with the problems of the individual as such. It is concerned with the problems of people living with one another, concerned with the individual flowing into the pattern and the pattern similarly into him.

Especially since the beginning of the depression considerations have modified the interpretation of the educational implications of the philosophy of individual rights. It has been increasingly recognized that the welfare of individuals depends upon effective collective action and upon the maintenance of adaptability in social institutions. Individuals must accept some limitations of their freedom to act; the welfare of others achieves equal importance with the self-interest as a criterion of acceptable behavior. Because the schools are the social institutions giving formal training to the young, this modification of the individualist philosophy has profound implications for curricular changes and educators are working to meet the challenge.

Human Values

Many educators believe that the real values to this world are human rather than material values; that real gains in civilization are made only through improvement of mankind. Educational purposes are rooted in the life of a people.

The purposes of schools evolve, reflecting and interacting with the purposes that permeate the life of the people. For example, educational purposes in the early Colonial days were largely religious. It was thought necessary that each person consult the Bible at firsthand, hence each person must learn to read. Today reading instruction is not justified by the act of reading itself, but rests upon such considerations as effective living and personal enjoyment. The controlling purpose represents a choice of values.

American educators realize that there can be no lasting contribution to the ideal of the dignity of the individual from schools

in which discipline is based on autocracy, where the atmosphere is heavy with intolerance and fear, where practice ignores or overwhelms the personality of each child. The ideal approaches recognition in a school with a broad, humane, and flexible curriculum where there is respect for the personality of each child, and where teachers and supervisors not only teach but actually practice the ideal of human equality.

What has been said of education in general gives the wrong impression if one reads and infers the same emphasis among all groups of the population. As in all processes of evolution, the growing contribution of American education to the dignity and worth of the individual is marred by many obvious discrepancies between the ideal and the practices. Any examination of the national educational system or of the countless documents such as the President's "Report on Civil Liberties," the "Report on Higher Education for American Democracy," or Gunnar Myrdal's *American Dilemma* reveals concrete evidences of great inequalities.

Despite these inequalities the schools of America are making positive contributions within many educational areas. The following are illustrative of these gains:

The discovery, training, and utilization of individual talents through scholarships and fellowships. Here abilities which might otherwise have been lost because of straitened economic circumstances are utilized.

The shift in education from a narrowly conceived concentration upon the mental-intellectual aspects of development of pupils to a broadly organized program which includes the all-around development of the person, a development that includes not only the scholastic aspects of the child's life but also his social effectiveness, his emotional health and maturity, and his physical well-being and health. This broader program gives attention to the wholeness of a person functioning as an integrated individual.

The realization on the part of administrators at all levels that equal opportunity requires diversified curricula.

The provision of counseling in mass education as a means for adapting instruction to the individual.

The tremendous rise in school enrollment at all levels including adult education.

The alertness of teachers to the unmet needs of each child.

The more intimate relationship existing between the school and the community.

The recognition on the part of the majority of the nation's school systems of the need for increased attention to the problem of better human relationships.

The assimilation of the racial and religious components of our citizenry within the public schools in most parts of our country.

The emphasis on improved teacher-training programs aimed at understanding the child and the importance of human values.

Our schools are working to implement America's experiment in living together—that experiment which has arisen out of the conviction that the most rewarding ways of living are those by which every person works not only to further his own development but to help others realize their best potentialities. Thus the school continues to espouse the cause of the dignity and worth of the individual, that ideal which develops as we progress toward it. It is by sharing in the creation of this ideal and by appraising progress toward its attainment that the schools can make their most significant and dynamic contributions to the culture of America.

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THE ROLE OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH IN A DEMOCRACY

Harold H. Abelson

It is no secret that the march toward democracy is not an easy jaunt. The road is rough and broken. Along its sides are snipers and armed bands, eager to prevent further advance and to cause retreat. The marchers themselves are not always sure of the route. Some are not adequately equipped for the excursion. Progress is uneven and slow.

Education is a crucial weapon in the struggle toward democracy—but not just any kind of education. The forces of education can be turned toward or away from the goals of democracy. Which way these forces will go depends on a number of things, not least among which is the provision the educational system makes for research and appraisal.

But just as it does not follow that *any* kind of education will assure democracy, so we cannot expect to find that *any* kind of research program will help education to achieve its democratic objectives. It is the purpose of the present paper to inquire into the special characteristics of American educational research as they relate to the achievement of democratic purposes.

That educational research in this country is essentially a democratic movement is evidenced by the absence of a research oligarchy. Instead of a small clique consisting of the academically elite, thousands of practitioners from every type of educational position participate in the many research enterprises that are conducted each year. True, much wasted effort results from the limited research training and experience of the great majority of participants, but it is easy to sense the democratic implication of such widespread participation. Educational research in America is a grass-roots movement.

The very popularity of the research enterprise in American education is a further sign of democratic strength, for any insti-

tution that is willing to examine itself with a view toward self-improvement is likely to grow in effectiveness. It would be naïve indeed to assert that educators have not manifested the common human tendency toward inertia and defensive rationalization. Much research has been instigated for the primary purpose of bringing pseudoscientific support to the assistance of preconceived notions. All too frequently research has been made the servant of the educational propagandist or the official with a predetermined program to sell. Notwithstanding the occasional misuse of research, however, one can discern a large undercurrent of genuine inquiry in the amazingly rapid increase in research interest during the twentieth century.

Freedom and willingness to question marked the educational research movement from its beginning. Consider, for example, the questioning of the doctrine of formal discipline in the 1890's which occasioned such epochal studies as James's experimental disproof of a "faculty" of memory and J. M. Rice's startling finding of the "futility of the spelling grind." The results of these studies ran counter to the then widely accepted theories; yet the investigators were given a hearing, and their discoveries prevailed. Does it really matter that in the beginning the methodology of research may have been shot through with weaknesses of one sort or another if essentially the process of inquiry is free and self-searching?

What shall we say of the shifting interests, methods, and postulates of educational research during its fifty-year history? Broadly speaking, during the early period efficiency, quantification, and narrow utilitarianism seemed to prevail. Counting, measuring, correlating, and experimenting were regarded virtually as the essence of research procedure. No doubt the disrepute into which the older forms of educational speculation had fallen served to narrow the methodological horizon of the early investigators. But the spirit of open inquiry and discussion itself soon brought

to light the need for a broader and deeper outlook. Consideration of goals and values began to impinge upon narrower questions of means and methods; the need for investigating the deeper dynamic hypotheses became evident. The percentage of superficially concerned studies has decreased over the years. Researchers have learned from their earlier mistakes. Continued critical comment on the outlook and techniques of research, such as appear from time to time in the *Review of Educational Research*, augurs well for future growth and development.

But, as we review the course of the research movement in American education, are we not mistaking the chaotic torrent of a flood for the stately flow of a river? Has not research been marked by a wanton individualism, an unthinking show of activity, an unchartered course? What of the many small, inconclusive, oft-duplicated but nondefinitive studies? What of the frequent disregard of previous research and scholarship on the part of investigators? The resultant pile of deadwood is high indeed; no one can deny that. What we may reject, however, is the implication that specifically unproductive efforts are necessarily fruitless. Such an inference is particularly inapplicable to learning situations. In all modesty, we must acknowledge that a generation of educational researchers cannot spring up overnight. A long period of experimental learning is a prerequisite to consistently mature and effective research.

One line of evidence of research progress and democratic co-operation is to be found in the slow but discernible improvement in the co-ordination of research effort. Those who participated in educational research in the twenties can readily recall how difficult it was then even to locate the titles of previous research. True, Walter S. Monroe had prepared several mimeographed lists of educational theses and the then United States Bureau of Education had already begun its yearly listing of unpublished materials, but the *Educational Index* did not enter

the field until 1929 and the *Review of Educational Research* did not appear until 1931. Today at least there is less excuse than twenty years ago for undertaking a research study without first becoming aware of previous work in the field.

Organized programs of research resulting from the activities of research bureaus, foundation grants, and the like have undergone unspectacular but significant development. Considering the huge sums that are spent on education, the amount allocated to research by educational agencies is woefully inadequate, but here too the curve is upward in direction. It must be remembered that the need for freedom of inquiry and for individual initiative in research argue for limitations on the amount of co-ordinated control. It is safe to say, however, that educational research still has a long way to go before it could be characterized as being overco-ordinated.

Again, one may complain of a relatively disorganized pattern of research as evidenced by the fact that, by and large, each individual is encouraged to select his research problem very much on his own initiative. To understand the true significance of this phenomenon one must view it more as typically democratic respect for the individual than as laissez-faire negligence or a false valuing of rugged individualism. To the individual, research activity is not divorced from his needs as a teacher or administrator and as a person undergoing general professional growth. To most persons research is a part of learning and development. Hence the project must relate to the background and interests of the researcher, whatever they are. The imposition of research tasks upon persons who are emotionally and intellectually unprepared for them is likely to result only in poor research and in limited professional gain. Research development and professional development must move forward together. Both take time. If the result is to be a genuine improvement in educational functioning, neither can be unduly accelerated.

The reader is undoubtedly aware of the many-sided implications of the fact that American educational research is basically a popular movement, a kind of folk research, as it were. This fact finds significant expression in the choice of problems for research. Democratic research seeks out for study those problems that reflect the needs of practical workers in the field. Once the floodgates are opened, teachers and administrators bring forth a veritable torrent of questions. Consider, for example, the following initial statements of problems: "Our school offers a variety of vocational-high-school courses other than the commercial. Many of the girls enter the ninth grade with less than seventh-grade arithmetic ability. What kind of arithmetic instruction shall we offer these girls?" "I teach a sixth-grade class where we are expected to correlate literature with other subjects like geography and history. Shouldn't the children have an opportunity to read the good things in literature regardless of their correlation with other subjects?" "I have just given a friendship questionnaire to my junior-high-school classes and find that cliques have been formed along national and other group lines. How can I break down these cliques?" "We have a dozen children in our school with I.Q.'s over 150. We don't know whether, if we make special arrangements for them, they won't miss the opportunity of learning how to get along with people less intelligent than themselves."

The academically oriented scientific worker may wince at the scope and wording of questions such as these, for they are couched in terms of particular rather than general issues and are applicational rather than fundamental in their orientation. He may sense that any thorough analysis of these questions will carry one into the realm of values, and may consider that realm foreign to scientific research. He may even argue that concrete questions imbedded in an evaluative frame of reference lead to a false utilitarianism rather than to long-range application and progress. Yet, instead of rejecting the felt needs of the people concerned, con-

temporary research takes them as starting points for the more comprehensive and basic inquiry ordinarily associated with the scientific method.

The translation of realistic problems into research terms requires the help of scientifically trained experts. In democratic research the specialist works co-operatively with people in the field in the clarification of problems and in efforts to solve them. It would be a mistake to assume that effective research could be done without expert leadership. In the democratic setup, just as the views of the general practitioner are regarded with interest and respect, so is the guidance of the research specialist sought. The sharing of goals and the mutual contribution of ideas are nuclear elements in democratic endeavor. The research expert must co-ordinate research activity, help to translate particularized questions into more generalized and hence more widely applicable issues, and assist in the selection and application of special investigational techniques.

The role of the democratically oriented research specialist is a complex one that requires for its execution a number of qualities of intellectual and social leadership. In this type of functional research setting the specialist cannot accept the role of a technician, but must inquire into matters of policy and objective, both of which he must try to clarify for himself and help others to clarify. In essence, he must share with the other participants both the purposes and the means of the research enterprise.

As one traces the research implications of the democratic ideal, the very methods of research cannot escape attention. As an illustration of the relationship between democratic purpose and research methodology may be taken the frequently discussed issue concerning the place of evaluation in research. To the educational research worker the determination of acceptable value is as much a part of the research job as the establishment of effective means for achieving designated ends. Moreover, when determin-

ing values, the investigator shuns arbitrary and authoritarian sources and seeks out as best he can expressions of the aspirations of the community. This he does in co-operation with his co-workers. Thus, the research activity itself is, or can be, an experience in democracy.

The democratic ideal requires that, as far as is feasible, the participants in a research project, both subjects and co-operating professional personnel, be made aware of the purposes of the study and themselves undergo a developmental experience in the course of their participation. Negatively stated, the investigator must restrain any impulse he may have to *use* the participants toward his own ends. The application of this principle is difficult, but far-reaching in importance. The principle of democratic participation entails a conception of the research process as being interwoven with the educational process itself. A general paper is not the place for a discussion of the many technical questions that have to be considered in the light of this position. Suffice it to say that the increasingly popular "action" type of research has some bearing on the matter, although action research *can* be directed toward undemocratic ends. A clearer illustration of democratic participant research is to be found in recent curriculum-construction studies in activity-program settings. School self-appraisal studies may also reflect this conception of research.

No emphasis on participant awareness and interest as criteria of good research should blind us to the necessity for scientific cogency as a test of adequate research method. Clearly, while one may throw the weight of leadership in unit planning upon a sixth-grade class for teaching purposes, in a controlled experiment certain elements of content or procedure would have to be predetermined by the experimenter. Sometimes, too, extrinsic factors would be introduced were pupils made aware of specific experimental purposes, or even that a formal experiment was under way. In such instances the research project may have to be dis-

cussed with the pupils *after* the experiment factors have been applied, if the democratic ideal is to be maintained. It is not so much the detailed nature of the relationship between researcher and participants as the spirit of that relationship that counts. In research work as in other educational relationships it is a question whether democracy can be achieved through undemocratic behavior.

We have presented certain of the features of educational research in this country. In the light of the criteria of democratic research can we say that all is well with research? Obviously not. But the first fifty years of the research movement have given us a tool and a tradition that can become a great force for progress and democracy. How we develop and use this new-found resource remains to be seen.

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THE MANAGEMENT OF MEN

George E. Axtelle

The problems of management have changed greatly during recent centuries. When communities were small and comparatively independent of each other, when enterprise was on a small scale, and when group life had an intimate character, management was comparatively simple. Moreover, management had very different problems when communities were slow changing, when status was definite, and relations long established, when authority was unquestioned, and when everyone knew his place and kept it. Giving and enforcing orders under such circumstances involved a minimum of administrative competence and of understanding of human nature.

The rise of the middle classes and the subsequent industrial revolution profoundly altered the problems of management. The power age and advanced technology have brought people together in vast numbers. Institutions and communities are enormously more complex and highly interdependent. Our several lives are bound together into a host of collectivities and these in turn interwoven into one interdependent world. We work in great numbers. Even doctors and scientists are coming to work together as teams. The fruits of our civilization are the product of mass production, mass consumption, and an enormously complex and varied division of labor.

Moreover, the spirit of men has undergone vast change. The earlier stages of capitalism bred a spirit of independence and moral equality. Men no longer take orders or suffer contempt passively as they once did. Management is no longer the simple administrative matter of organizing men as they might machines, and of giving orders. Human nature is no longer the same. The psychology of serfdom and slavery cannot operate our scientific-technological society.

The natural sciences revolutionized industry and agriculture.

In doing so they have placed an enormous burden upon the arts of management. We have long since given up magic, incantation, and coercion in the management of things. We have learned rather to study and learn how things work and what to expect of them under given conditions. We are beginning to do the same in the management of men. There are many in both public administration and private management who believe that a new frontier is to be found in the arts of management when they are informed and guided by an understanding of men. Thus they are beginning to employ scientific methods to inquire into the working conditions and relationships which call forth men's best energies.

Thus the application of the natural sciences to the arts of production now force upon us the necessity of making similar application of scientific methods and bodies of knowledge to problems of human relations. The development of the human sciences and their application to the problems of management should bring even greater fruits than the growth and application of the natural sciences because of the greater potentials locked in human nature. When the arts of management learn how to release intelligence, moral purpose, and a sense of community among men they will touch every aspect of our common lives. They will not only increase the physical efficiency of industry, agriculture, government bureaus, and other operating agencies, they will enhance the significance of our occupational life and give labor its true sense of dignity. More deeply and profoundly they will transform human relations in all institutions, in the home, the school, the church, the club, industry, and political life. War itself can be finally abolished only when we have a scientific knowledge of our culture and of the cultures of other peoples, and when this understanding is translated into the arts of management and diplomacy. The concept of management itself will undergo profound change. Management will come to be less the art of administering authority and more the art of helping groups to organize

themselves in such ways as call forth their greatest powers individually and collectively.

Some fear that the growth of the human sciences and their application to management may prove a great Frankenstein that will forever enchain humanity to the dictates of the ambitious. They fear that it will but complete the concentration of power which the growth and application of the natural sciences has so effectively started. They see them as instruments by which industrial management will more completely exploit its workers, and political adventurers bind men's wills to their ends. They fear that churches and schools will become more efficient instruments for the enslavement of men's minds.

We cannot ignore this possibility. Those seeking power will certainly employ whatever instruments may be at their disposal, but so too may those who seek to liberate men, to help them to achieve their full stature. The human sciences will likewise be instruments awaiting those who would free themselves. It is true that Hitler made much use of psychological techniques against both his own people and his enemies. But it is interesting to note that those techniques had only a very short-run efficiency. They were not the kind that could free intelligence or develop a wider sense of community.

Those groups and societies will survive and grow in power that best learn how to provide freedom to think, to plan, to develop initiative and resourcefulness. They will also learn not only how to develop a deep sense of community within the group but how to relate themselves effectively to other groups.

If we have learned anything about men it is that they are born for freedom. That is to say, men achieve their fullest potentialities, imagination, intelligence, creativity, sociality only under freedom. They must have room for growth, room to be men. That is why the early stages of capitalism possessed such an enormous

dynamic. Men's minds as well as their bodies were freed. They achieved powers of which they had never dreamed. America's greatness and power is often explained by her wealth of resources. But these resources were not available to the Indians. America's greatness lies in the millions who found freedom here to grow. With that freedom they made use of her resources. Capitalism has now reached an advanced stage. The earlier conditions of freedom no longer exist but the spirit is still here and is moving to master these new conditions.

Men knew that unsupported bodies fall to the earth before Newton formulated the law of gravitation. That law simply gave that primitive fact a scientific form and related it to all physical bodies in their relations to one another. We do not need an advanced human science to tell us that freedom is essential to man's fullest development. It can, however, tell us more fundamentally what this fact means and relate it to all human relationships. Any human science must begin with this fact. The significance of freedom for human life is assurance that the human sciences must in the end serve the common interests of men.

Although the human sciences are in their infancy we do not have to wait for their maturity to apply them to the problems of management. Actually management offers the most fruitful field for the study of human nature. As problems of industry, agriculture, and navigation stimulated the natural sciences, so we may expect that problems of management will be the great stimulus to the human sciences. Scientific method and scientific knowledge is already making itself felt in management. What are some of the things we have learned about management?

Traditionally, management has been conceived in rather simple terms, with a big boss at the top and directions, orders, regulations, and instructions flowing down through the hierarchical structure to lower levels. Such a conception had little

place in it for initiative, resourcefulness, intelligent judgment, or discretion, except at the top. Like the Almighty, the boss had but to say "let it be" and it was.

Progressive management, on the other hand, recognizes that the most important thing about an organization is not its lines of authority and systems of sanctions, but the sense of purpose, the potential intelligence, general capacity, effective participation, and the specific skills of its personnel. It conceives its highest responsibility to be the cultivation of the human resources of the staff both individually and collectively. This takes time and staff. Because of the oversimple conception of management, administrative and supervisory officers commonly lack the assistance necessary to do a good management job. Therefore, the more human aspects of management are often ignored or sacrificed to program responsibility.

Progressive management is becoming alert to this problem. It is beginning to recognize that high-level performance demands an apparatus of leadership, a program, and a staff to carry out a high level of management operation. It is coming to recognize that management involves a variety of functions and talents heretofore unrecognized. What are some of these functions and talents?

It has generally been recognized that selection and placement of staff has some bearing on the effective performance of a group. Its importance, however, has seldom been comprehended. There is probably no more important responsibility of management than the determination of the personnel of the group. The degree to which members of the group can take on training, assimilate information, and enter effectively into participation, to which they can organize and plan their work, is of utmost importance to the effectiveness of the group. Almost if not equally important is their belief in the importance of the program and their zeal to participate. Having chosen a member of the group, it is equally important that he be properly placed, that his skills and capacities

match his responsibilities. If placed beyond his level he is soon subject to frustration and demoralization. If his full talents are not utilized he is like a big motor in a small car. A person who is misplaced in a group soon loses his sense of challenge and personal significance. A number of such persons in a group generate a spirit of mediocrity and soddleness or torpor.

There are many kinds of groups in which there can be little selection of membership. The family, school, and church, for example, generally accept the membership they happen to have. In such groups and in those which may have control over their membership as well, the task of management is to help the group organize its operations in such ways as challenges the best energies of its members.

A high level of group performance depends upon effective communications throughout the group. Each member of the group must be able to see the group as a whole, and to recognize the roles of the various parts of the group (including his own) in carrying on the total activity of the group. The problem of information and communication increases greatly with the size of the group. Whatever its size, however, its effective operation depends upon the success with which its members can take the role of the group as a whole and of its major parts.

This was doubtless the main consideration of Plato and Aristotle in their insistence that the city-state should be small enough that one could view its boundaries from its highest eminence. Growth of communications instruments is a necessary precondition to the growth in size and effectiveness of political and economic units. The magnitude of contemporary organizations places an exceedingly heavy burden upon this function. Only as the members of an organization have a clear conception of it in its totality and in its several parts can they be intelligent in their own performance.

The problem of communication, however, extends beyond the

boundaries of the organization itself. Whether a public agency, a private industry, a voluntary organization, or a family, the group must see itself in its social role. It must have a sense not only of its own identity, it must also be informed of the consequences of its operations for the general public, and of the response of the public to its operations. This program of information and communication is essential not only that the members of the group may effectively identify themselves with the group emotionally and comprehend their roles intellectually, but that they may properly conceive themselves and their group in their moral capacity. The whole personality is moved to put forth its best energies, its devotion, initiative, imagination, resourcefulness, when it finds itself in a situation where it can join its energies with others in pursuit of a significant end.

The most vital form of communication, of course, is that which occurs in the daily course of active participation. To the degree that the members of a group share in the development of policy, in discovering the significant facts of their situation, in examination of the various assumptions that underlie their program, in planning and organizing for the future, to that degree they can act with intelligence, imagination, and devotion. Their active participation informs them of the ways in which they need to improve their own skills and understanding. It supplies not only stimulus to growth, but defines directions of growth. Effective management is alert to provide the training facilities for which the members of the group recognize a need. Education or training then takes on the character of a rifle aimed at a point. Since the end of training is understood by the learners, they are aware when they have achieved it.

Yet the ends of education in the group are by no means narrowed. Actually they are vastly broadened, but since education is a function of a co-operative enterprise specific ends may be sharply defined while at the same time they are integral in a broad con-

text. It should be recognized that the whole career of the group is broadly educative to the degree that communication and participation are effective. It is educative not only in specialized and technical matters, it is educative in the deepest intellectual, social, and moral respects. The life of the group cultivates a scrupulous respect for facts; it cultivates the intellectual disciplines involved in seeing the bearing of the facts upon the goals and program of the group. Participation in planning and executing a program, in entertaining hypotheses and seeing their consequences in action, in formation of policy and making decision, all these involve intellectual discipline of a high order. At the same time such a life develops the sense of community and moral responsibility. To the degree that communication is effective in developing the sense of social purpose of the group and keeps the group informed of the social consequences and responses resulting from its program, the deeper springs of social consciousness are released.

Management so conceived has little concern for the principle of authority and discipline as forms of coercion. Authority and discipline reside in the collective undertaking of the group. Management becomes rather a high type of leadership, a leadership devoted to the arts of co-operative thinking, planning, and execution. It is concerned as much with the *quality* of group life as with the products of its operations. Progressive management is devoted to the freeing and cultivation of the distinctively human energies of the group. Progressive or competent management is thus democratic leadership.

A vastly higher type of skill is demanded for such management than for the traditional authoritarian management. It involves insight, imagination, and understanding of a high order. It demands ceaseless observation and study of human situations to locate points at which the democratic process has broken down. The larger the size of the group, the more complex the problem, the more important the character of subordinates. Democratic

management involves a great deal of time devoted to the group process. There must be time for interaction, time for consultation, time for planning together, time for informal social intercourse. The work schedule must make specific provision for the democratic process to function.

Management as here used refers equally to the role of parent, teacher, principal, minister, industrialist, labor leader, public administrator, political leader, head of state, diplomat, or a leader of a voluntary organization. Management is involved wherever one has responsibility for the activities of others. The physical and biological sciences have revolutionized our technology and agriculture. In doing so they have brought men together in vast numbers and in enormously complex relationships. The problems of management are vastly more complex and intricate. As the natural sciences have revolutionized the economic conditions of life, so we must look to the human sciences for aid in the organization and management of our group life.

Since men achieve their distinctive powers only under conditions of freedom, we should expect the human sciences to teach us how best to create those conditions. Competent management is constantly alert to discover those conditions, and makes use of human sciences in effecting them. It exploits the arts of communication to enable the group constantly to see itself as a totality and in its several parts. It helps the group see itself as an integral element of the broader culture in order that it may most effectively and intelligently perform its social role. It studies the group process, the process of group thinking and planning as well as execution. Competent management conceives its chief role as that of promoting the intellectual and social processes of the group. Competent administration is democratic administration, dedicated to the democratic values of the group and of the wider society.

No greater contribution can be made to the vitality and security of democracy than growth in the arts of democratic management

and the application of the human sciences to management problems. Our character as a people is shaped by our primary institutions. The quality of family life, of life in the classroom, and in our occupations defines our basic values and forms our social skills. We may rest secure concerning the future of democracy when the character of management in these institutions results in the discipline of the democratic character of men.

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EDITOR'S NOTE: *These four articles are the first of a series assessing the strength of American education which we have asked Dr. Bristow to edit. The remaining articles will be presented in later issues.*

THE ROLE OF MYTHS IN CRITICAL EDUCATION

William Isaacs and Jules Kolodny

"In desperate situations man will always have recourse to desperate means—and our present-day political myths have been such desperate means. If reason has failed us, there remains the *ultima ratio*, the power of the miraculous and the mysterious."—Ernst Cassirer, *The Myth of the State*.

In an age of conflicting philosophies and warring political credos, the role of myths in maintaining or undermining old values, or in establishing new ones, has been increasingly discussed and publicized. Although their importance in any social order has long been recognized—Plato, Machiavelli, and Sorel understood their significance fully—the study of myths has been largely neglected. Because of the studies made by contemporary political theorists and sociologists, however, textbooks and periodicals are devoting more attention to the subject.

The problem is also one for educators to ponder. They should be considering how to handle the subject, especially in secondary schools. As we view it, this depends very much upon the individual teacher's political beliefs and educational premises. If he believes that his greatest concern must be to uphold, by whatever means, the democratic way of life as he understands it, his problem is simple: he must expose and undermine the myths of fascism and communism, and present those of capitalist democracy as undebatable truths. If, on the other hand, he maintains that the democratic philosophy, for all its faults, can hold its own in the competition of ideologies, if he believes that one of the main purposes of education is to develop the ability to think and to evaluate, he will not be averse to examine the myths of democracy along with those of other systems.

To those who accept the latter alternative, as we do, the problem is *not* whether or not to introduce myths into social-studies education, but rather: (1) Can an analysis of myths aid in promoting critical thinking? (2) If so, how should they be treated?

The term *myths*, unfortunately, has not been used in any precise sense. It has been loosely used to include: (a) classical and non-classical mythology; (b) folk tales; (c) political legends; (d) political myths. Since we are primarily concerned with the study of myths at the secondary-school and collegiate level rather than the elementary- and junior-high-school level, an inquiry into mythology¹ and folk tales² is omitted from this analysis.

Political Legends

American history abounds, as does all history, in political legends—the deliberate falsification of character and events for the purpose of promoting hero worship and a blind loyalty and devotion to country. Probably as a reaction to the incalculable damage done by the Parson Weems school of history writing, many historians have completely removed from contemporary American history texts all traces of the standard legends (Columbus and the egg, the landing at Plymouth Rock, Captain John Smith and Pocahontas, George Washington and the cherry tree, and others). These legends are not mentioned, neither as true nor false. Some historians, however, have expressed their regrets; they hold that these legends "carefully integrated into courses of instruction in American history offer opportunities for the development of skills, understandings, and attitudes necessary to rational thinking....."³

We too are of the opinion that political legends can be made to serve a useful purpose in training students to think, but only at higher educational levels. Whether presented as truths or legends, no significant educational purpose can be served by teaching them in primary grades. To depict them in lower-grade texts as his-

¹ See Leah Woods Wilkins, "Myths and Social Studies," *Social Education*, February 1946, pp. 60-62.

² See L. E. Klee, "Folklore and the Development of Critical Thinking," *Social Education*, October 1946, pp. 267-69.

³ Richard E. Thursfield, "Developing the Ability to Think Reasonably," *The Study and Teaching of American History* (Seventeenth Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies), p. 85.

torical truths would obviously be bad and undesirable; to present them as legends would likewise serve no good purpose. During the early formative years, fact and fancy easily become indistinguishable in the minds of children. Since it is desirable to provide reading materials that appeal to children's imaginations, mythology and folk tales should be utilized; these serve the purpose admirably without being seriously mistaken for historical truths.

In secondary-school texts, within the limits of available time and space, the arguments are well taken for an inclusion and a presentation of political legends, provided they are frankly presented as *legends*. They can very definitely be used to develop an ability to reason and to evaluate. ". . . Children in dealing with such materials become aware of bias, prejudice, exaggeration, propaganda, suppression of evidence, lack of sufficient sources, differing types of documents,—the genuine, the outright invention, the cheating document, the garbled document,—and factors affecting the reliability of testimony. They may consider the dangers involved in oversimplification and in too easy generalizations, the difficulties facing the historians and citizens in arriving at truth, the importance and varying dependability of original records or of contemporaneous testimony, and the relativity of historical 'facts'" ⁴

Artemus Ward's quip, "It is better not to know so many things than to know so many things that are not so," ⁵ may be applicable to the study of legends at the elementary-school level; it is doubtful whether this is so at secondary and collegiate levels.

Political Myths

The political myth, again, is quite different from mythology, folk tales, or even political legends. Political myths represent the common man's hopes and aspirations; they help give meaning,

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85.

purpose, and significance to social organization. "The myth is the collective desire personified."⁶

Robert M. MacIver says: "By *myths* we mean the value-impregnated beliefs and notions that men hold, that they live by or live for. Every society is held together by a myth-system, a complex of dominating thought-forms that determines and sustains all its activities. All social relations, the very texture of human society, are myth-born and myth-sustained. . . ."⁷ Or, more cynically stated by George Woodcock: "The political myth might be described as a projection into the past, or, more often, the future, of a mirage based on the desires of a section of the people, which is used to induce them to follow some political group or embrace some programme, under the illusion that they will attain what they have seen in the mirage. . . ."⁸

When a grave danger arises that threatens the community, and when it seems apparent that the issue cannot readily be resolved by recourse to reason, the myth emerges most strongly. Ernst Cassirer holds that the technique of the myth is much the same in modern times as it was among primitive peoples. Its essential elements are faith in a leader, belief in the magic of the spoken word, recourse to rituals, and reliance upon prophecy. In a crisis, the cry for a leader invariably arises. "The former social bonds—law, justice, and constitutions—are declared to be without value. What alone remains is the mystical power and authority of the leader and the leader's will is supreme law."⁹ And how does the leader secure obedience? By the magnetism and the potency of the spoken word. Old words are "charged with meanings," and new words are "charged with feelings and violent passions."¹⁰

⁶ E. Doutté, quoted in Ernst Cassirer, *The Myth of the State* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946), p. 280.

⁷ Robert M. MacIver, *The Web of Government* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947), p. 4.

⁸ George Woodcock, "The Functions of the Political Myth," *University Observer*, Spring-Summer 1947, p. 103.

⁹ Ernest Cassirer, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 283.

Supplementing magic words are rites and rituals which are performed by all strata of the population. "Every class, every sex, and every age has a rite of its own. . . . The effect of these new rites is obvious. Nothing is more likely to lull our active forces, our power of judgment and critical discernment, and to take away our feeling of personality and individual responsibility than the steady, uniform and monotonous performance of the same rites. . . ." ¹¹

Finally, to bind the people to their myths, the element of prophecy is introduced. "The politician becomes a sort of public fortune teller. Prophecy is an essential element in the new technique of rulership. The most improbable or even impossible promises are made; the millenium is predicted over and over again." ¹²

Man readily accepts these myths because, while they enslave him, they also set him free. "The new political parties promise, at least, an escape from the dilemma. They suppress and destroy the very sense of freedom, but at the same time, they relieve men from all personal responsibility." ¹³

Since it is always easier to recognize the myths of other social systems, those of the totalitarian states offer a most satisfactory starting point for analysis and evaluation. The Nazis propagated many fictions to enable them to seize and maintain power. These, in the main, are familiar. The myth of racism, the cry of encirclement, and the solemn assertion that Hitler alone could protect the liberty and freedom of the German people are among the more common of them.¹⁴ Fortified by a convenient metaphysics—that propounded by Spengler in his *Decline of the West*—Nazi leaders proclaimed the manifest destiny of their state. To help bring an emotional unity to the people of the Third Reich, Goebbels created a new vocabulary of fighting, hating words. "If we hear these words, we feel in them the whole gamut of emotions—

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 284-85.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 288-89.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 288.

¹⁴ Robert M. MacIver, *op. cit.*, pp. 261-62.

of hatred, anger, fury, haughtiness, contempt, arrogance, and disdain.”¹⁵

The Communist system is also founded upon numerous myths. To explain the origins of their new society, Communists invoke the Marxian doctrine that “technological factors are the primary determinants of all social change,” ignoring the paramount part played by Lenin, and the effective propaganda of the Communist party. As Woodcock notes, “The Bolsheviks gained power by using the potent promises of ‘Land to the peasants, factories to the workers’ and ‘All power to the Soviets.’” But after the Communists had gained control, they soon relieved the peasants of their land and the workers of their factories, and vested both in a Soviet bureaucracy. The Soviet constitution of 1937 expresses the hopes and aspirations of the Russian people for a more democratic state. This constitution may be the most democratic constitution in the world, except that it is only a paper constitution. It legalizes only one party, and imposes upon the Russian people a secret police which “protects” them and their liberties from their “enemies.” And when Harold J. Laski justifies Soviet excesses and proclaims Communism to be the beacon light which points to a newer and a better civilization (“It offers, as no rival offers, a way out for the common man from the bitter frustration of our time”¹⁶), one may well ponder whether, in his zeal for the socialist society and his desire to present new ideals and new goals to the common man, he is not deliberately substituting Soviet myths for those of capitalism.

Capitalist democracy also has its myths, if we may believe Robert M. MacIver, James Burnham, Thurman W. Arnold, and others. MacIver questions what he considers the greatest myth of all—the myth of the sovereign state. His extensive writings in

¹⁵ Ernst Cassirer, *op. cit.*, p. 284.

¹⁶ Harold J. Laski, *Faith, Reason, and Civilization* (New York: The Viking Press, 1944), p. 52.

sociology and political theory tend to discredit the concept of the all-powerful sovereign state as presented in the political philosophy of Hegel and the jurisprudence of Blackstone.¹⁷

James Burnham doubts whether democracy, as it is generally understood—government by majority—is ever possible. "Popular sovereignty, rule by the people, are, after all, myths: societies are always ruled in fact by minorities, and will presumably continue to be. . . . It is doubtful that the masses of people have ever, here or elsewhere, placed an extremely high valuation on democracy. The immediate effects of democracy are of direct concern, for the most part, to politicians, intellectuals, and the leaders in the various lines of social activity. . . ."¹⁸ These caustic observations, nevertheless, do not deter Burnham from supporting democracy because (1) people can bring pressure on the ruling minority to restrain its tendency toward "tyranny, undue privilege, and extreme exploitation"; (2) democracy permits free inquiry; (3) democracy does not freeze officeholders in power; opportunities are provided for newcomers to politics.¹⁹

Thurman W. Arnold also bluntly characterizes many of the political beliefs cherished by large sections of the American people as folklore and myths. He argues that techniques are important in American democracy rather than enunciated principles and political platforms. The latter are symbols which "become more and more a ceremony and less a matter of belief to those who wrote them."²⁰

Although he too does not argue against the democratic hypothesis, Arnold nevertheless questions the widespread belief that the best men and the most valid ideas triumph in the politics of democracy. He does not believe that candidates with "sincerity

¹⁷ Robert M. MacIver, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

¹⁸ James Burnham, *Is Democracy Possible?* quoted in Irving DeWitt Talmadge, ed., *Whose Revolution?* (New York: Howell, Soskin, 1941), pp. 190, 202.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 192-93.

²⁰ Thurman W. Arnold, *The Folklore of Capitalism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937), p. 41.

and candor" necessarily win; that right principles, sound arguments, and irrefutable logic overcome lobbies, pressure groups, and political machines.²¹ Even more fundamental, he doubts very much whether the "thinking man" of the democratic society, to whom all political parties address their policies and platforms, is really a thinking man at all. Arnold is inclined to believe that men do not choose their creeds, but rather "become bound by loyalties and enthusiasms to existing organizations."²² Nor does he concede that the United States Supreme Court (a burning issue a decade back) is an impersonal oracle, dispensing justice impartially, and upholding the ideal of a "government of laws" rather than one of "competing opinions of men."²³

Other students of political and social theory advance evidence to support the position that a free press and a free radio must also be classified among the political myths of our social structure. It is not a matter of the abridgment of constitutional rights by the Federal Government nor by any of the state governments, but simply that technological developments "have made it impossible for the press to be owned by any but a small clique of extremely wealthy publisher-industrialists, most of whom hold identical, conservative viewpoints about all the controversial problems facing western civilization."²⁴

The economic sphere also has its myths. Arnold again scoffs at the prevalent belief that the capitalist system is "a set of abstract principles to be followed." To him it is a system of "accepted institutional mythology." Capitalism "is no more descriptive of social organization today than the theology of the monarchy was descriptive before the French Revolution."²⁵ He questions such economic myths as freedom of contract; the sanctity of private

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 70, 383-84.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 10.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

²⁴ Durward Pruden, "The Myth of Freedom of Press," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, December 1945, p. 249.

²⁵ Thurman W. Arnold, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

profit; the folly of government spending as against spending by great corporations which allegedly do not waste money; the popular conception that great corporations "*could* be made respectable" by antitrust legislation.²⁶

Significance of Political Myths and Legends for Critical Education

Although legends and myths provide unusual opportunities to further critical thinking, from an educational viewpoint, there are several important obstacles. If every social order is based on myths, as both MacIver and Woodcock assert, a careful analysis of political myths serves to expose the political foundations of *all* social systems. While this may be highly desirable in undermining the ideologies of fascism and communism, an equally critical analysis of the substructure of our own politico-economic system may not be encouraged. School authorities and others are very often far less concerned with truth than with what they consider to be its undesirable consequences.

Equally important, to tackle political myths presupposes a maturity, intellect, and background which many secondary-school and small collegiate students probably do not possess. It is easy to criticize specific articles of faith found in fascist and communist doctrines. But greater insight is required to consider political myths as the basis upon which *all* societies seem to rest, and to understand that social orders in the past, including capitalist democracy, have not functioned without them.

A careful consideration of political myths may, for a time, leave students dazed and bewildered; it may make educators wonder whether such analyses do not necessarily lead to political nihilism. But to raise doubts is one of the most effective techniques for stimulating thinking and for breaking down unreasonable patterns of thought. In the discussions which ensue, the teacher need not have ready answers to the questions raised by MacIver, Burn-

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 262-63, 276, 312, 321.

ham, Arnold, Woodcock, and others; nor need he decide whether or not people can ever live entirely without myths.

However, he can raise such fundamental questions as these for consideration: (1) Why are political legends and myths found in all social groups? (2) What purpose do they serve? (3) To what extent are they questions of fact and questions of controversy? (4) Are they foisted upon people by propaganda and indoctrination or do they have a more substantial basis? (5) Why do people easily recognize political mythology in other social systems, but rarely acknowledge the mythology underlying their own ideological beliefs? (6) What brings about a change in political legends and myths?

To the extent that the teacher has made students conscious of the role of myths and legends in social systems, he has helped clear away much of the ignorance and confusion underlying political thinking. And even if it cannot be established whether or not people can ever live entirely without myths, there is little doubt that society can live more intelligently with fewer myths. This is one conclusion about myths that mature reflection can help students reach. "It is beyond the power of philosophy to destroy the political myths. A myth is in a sense invulnerable. It is impervious to rational arguments; it cannot be refuted by syllogisms. But philosophy can do us another important service. It can make us understand the adversary. In order to fight an enemy you must know him. That is one of the first principles of a sound strategy."²⁷

And, finally, as Thurman W. Arnold has wisely noted, "The moment that folklore is recognized to be only folklore it ceases to have the effect of folklore. It descends to the place of poetry or fairy tales which affect us only in our romantic moments."²⁸

²⁷ Ernst Cassirer, *op. cit.*, p. 296.

²⁸ Thurman W. Arnold, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF AUTONOMOUS GROUPS

Lee Emerson Deets

In 1938 a small group arose spontaneously to explore a need that was sensed by the individuals who formed it. It existed for no other organization, represented no other organization, and was controlled by no other organization. It kept going because the interests that motivated its origin were sufficient to keep it going and because members found the group relationship congenial. Being freed from august responsibility of representing something other than itself or functioning for reasons other than those for which it came into being, it was self-directed and self-evolving; in other words, it was an autonomous group. It was a group free to evolve whatever was implicit in its idea, its membership, and its group relations. Since it was free from institutional controls it was not shunted toward a priori conclusions to which institutions are sometime known to be committed, nor was it "organized" with superimposed "directives."

It so happened that the spontaneous idea, which gave this group unity from within instead of superimposed organization from without, was interest in exploration and facilitation of the autonomous group. Being itself an autonomous group, its unity was derived from processes within itself; natural order replaced organization. In a society characterized by federations of federations and holding companies of holding companies, where lone individuals and lone groups are often lost, this was heresy. In a culture distinguished by mechanical faith in mechanics, this is backsliding. There ought to be a law! Perhaps a certifying agency is needed. This is a notion that the group *per se*, the group self-determining in and of itself within the law, is of vital importance, and that recognition of the importance of autonomy is implicit in a democratic, rational society.

The sociological *raison d'être* for the organizing principle of the Committee on Autonomous Groups would seem to the writer to

have sprung from a marriage of principles. The creative synthesis is a union of basic principles, one of each being drawn from the polarity which marks the boundaries of social change and social organization. It is assumed that the reader is familiar with the work of Ferdinand Toennies and Emile Durkheim as stimulated by an idea borrowed from Sir Henry Maine. For want of better terminology, the polarities will be designated in the words of Toennies as *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*. The process of change is known to the social scientist as the evolution of the community and society from the type of order which distinguished the early community of neighbors who lived in a type of "primary group," face-to-face relationship to the society of myriad, impersonally related, highly differentiated, specialized groups, for which unifying order is sought through contractualism and organization, usually superimposed. The former was held together by the common will which evolved out of natural processes inherent within itself; the latter, although half-consciously, strives for order through collective will rationally arrived at and planned. But at this point the world and its mechanistic culture "which is so much with us late and soon" leads us into attempted solution of our social problems by exclusive use of "some of the hair of the dog that bit us." If the hierarchical organization with its bureaucracy, organization charts, and channels of authority leads to frustration and sterility, the simple homeopathic treatment is: more superimposed organization!

Autonomous Groups, with a still small voice, is suggesting that perhaps the baby is being thrown out with the bath. We cannot return to the *Gemeinschaft* nor do we wish to do so since the *Gemeinschaft* sacrificed the autonomy of the individual for the unity of the group. However, the importance of the primary group relationship has not of necessity lost its meaning as society has evolved. Its contribution may be an important missing element in the floundering Great Society of Associations. The autonomous group idea in its emphasis upon autonomy cherishes

the concepts of the importance of the individual and the necessity for rational will, while at the same time recognizing the paramount importance of the primary group relationship which has been the "nursery of human nature." The rational autonomy principle implicit in our multigroup society becomes wedded to recognition of the necessity for survival of the primary group relations which were foremost in the solidarity of the past.

Faith in mechanism alone is not enough. Is there a social problem? Pass a law! Plan an organization! Superimpose a social system! Why don't the experts give us a mechanism? These are the words of the worshippers of Prometheus. Meanwhile at the zero hour the beginning of the atomic age revealed its ultimate denouement. The secular faith has been seduced by a mechanical Lorelei.

So back we trudge to where human nature began—the group. No mechanism has yet replaced the family nor is any in sight to replace the primary group itself. Social habits continue to be acquired where relations are most personal. We learn understanding through sympathetic understanding in the areas of social living where it is most possible, namely, in intimate association. On the primary level individuals are never statistical fractions, abstractions in a syllogism, or obscured units in a computation.

Research in this area would include not only the discovery and study of autonomous groups but also the functioning of autonomous primary group relationships and adaptations of them wherever they occur in this "secondary" society. There are various types and some are outstanding for their free, spontaneous creativity. The patterns and processes of the old primary group and *Gemeinschaft* type of order might well be reviewed with a view toward adaptation to modern society where such can be done without sacrificing autonomy, individual growth, and rational development.

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INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION MOVEMENTS

Arthur Prinz

While it may be an outworn phrase that human history, from the earliest times down to our days, has largely been a history of migrations, it is of real interest to study the profound changes in the character of international migrations and to consider them in their interrelation with cultural and political developments in general. Naturally, our interest is chiefly devoted to more recent times, especially to the period between the two World Wars.

In both prehistoric and ancient times migrations, as a rule, were mass movements of races, tribes, or similar groups making—and, if necessary, forcing—their way into regions that seemed to offer better opportunities. Though the causes of such migrations were many and some are in need of further elucidation,¹ it may be said with a fair degree of certainty that the most potent factor was the insufficiency of the former habitat to support a fast-growing population. However critically one may be disposed toward Malthusian theories as applied to highly developed societies, the paramount importance of the lack of food as a motive of primitive migrations can hardly be denied. Many scholars, especially Friedrich Ratzel and his followers, have stressed the historical significance of one special type of migration which is to be found over and over again in the most diverse countries. It is the mass movement of warlike desert or mountain tribes into the fertile and densely populated plains usually adjunct to great rivers. Of such incursions there is ample evidence not only in the long history of Egypt, but also of Babylon, India, China, and elsewhere. One of the most characteristic features of these movements is the defeat and subjection of a comparatively highly civilized sedentary community at the hands of primitive, warlike nomads. And here an interesting paradox is to be noted. Politically, of course, the victorious barbarians impose their will—which, at a certain phase of develop-

¹ See Ragnar Numelin, *The Wandering Spirit: A Study of Human Migration* (London: Macmillan and Company, 1937).

ment, often means their constituting themselves as a ruling class over the subjected indigenous masses which they exploit economically, guaranteeing, in exchange, their defense against new invaders. It is to this process that such noted sociologists as Oppenheimer, for example, trace the origin of the state. Agricultural communities by themselves tend to be but loosely organized, although under the vigorous leadership of the new rulers they can be molded into much stronger structure.

In regard to cultural developments, however, things develop very differently indeed. Here it is the victorious invader who begins to appreciate the amenities of a higher stage of civilization and eventually adopts many of the customs and habits of the indigenous population which he formerly used to despise. And as the invaders are far inferior in numbers they chiefly adopt the language of the country, too. So, paradoxically, the victors frequently are assimilated by the vanquished.² It must be stressed, however, that this process is essentially a fortuitous result of circumstances beyond the control and even beyond the vision of either party. It may be that the proud conservatism of such great peoples as the ancient Egyptians who had seen many a wave of invaders come and disappear in their midst did much to assimilate newcomers. But certainly, as long as the individual was generally bound to his group and nearly all migrations were mass movements, the assimilation of newcomers could not become a problem in the eyes of the indigenous population, let alone the aim of a policy.

The great migrations that marked the end of the Roman Empire were obviously true to the type described: barbarian tribes whose numerical strength should not be overestimated³ forced

² One may think of Horace's famous verse: "Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artes intulit a gesti Latio." (Greece captured her captor and spread her arts to Latium.) But of course the Romans were not assimilated; they were only culturally influenced by the Greeks.

³ H. Delbrück, the German historian who is regarded as an authority on military history, estimates the number of warriors in each of these tribes at 6,000 to 15,000.

their way into more densely populated and highly civilized countries, destroying rather than adopting their culture. In the many centuries of the Middle Ages comparatively few great migrations took place within the Occident, in accordance both with the laws and the spirit of feudalism which were unfavorable to dynamism in general and, more especially, attached the serf to the glebe. Among the nobility, however, particularly among the Normans, there stirred a spirit of adventure which led them not only to England, but also to Italy, Spain, and quite a number of other countries. Though the Norman invasion of England cannot be regarded primarily as a migration movement, it presents certain features of great interest. For, on the one hand, the invaders constituted themselves as a ruling class over the subjugated Anglo-Saxons and erected a much stronger political structure than had existed before. In this they were true to the type of victorious invaders. But, on the other hand, the cultural level of the Normans in France was not lower but considerably higher than that of the Anglo-Saxon inhabitants of England and, besides, their influx continued for a long time after the invasion. Chiefly for these two reasons the influence of the conquerors on the general cultural development and on the language was quite extraordinary as against other invasions.

Though the Crusades, that unique historical movement whose main incentive was a religious fervor for the defense of Christendom that found its stirring symbolic expression in the call for the liberation of the Holy Sepulcher, cannot in the first line be classified as a migration movement, they did contain important elements in common with more typical migration movements. Certainly the Crusades, in their different forms and directions, provided an outlet for that chivalrous spirit of adventure which found very little other scope in the static structure of medieval society.

Nothing, perhaps, is more characteristic of both the spirit of

medieval society and the part played in it by the Jews than the fact that they alone, throughout that epoch, were nearly always permitted and often compelled to emigrate. Living in many countries in and beyond Europe, their small communities were never regarded as part and parcel of the general population, but always as a people apart—as outsiders and sometimes as outcasts. While a very great, though slowly diminishing, part of the indigenous population was legally bound to the soil, the Jews were legally separated from it as they were forbidden to acquire real estate. As expert dealers in mobile property, especially in moneys, they were sometimes invited into countries for economic reasons, only to be expelled again when the stopgaps could be discarded or when religious zeal outweighed economic considerations. The problem of assimilation, today so many-sided and difficult, in that epoch boiled down to one demand: baptism. The supreme importance attributed to religion as the foundation of all culture made it impossible to belong to the national community without sharing its creed, as, on the other hand, a Jew embracing Christianity was unquestioningly accepted as a member of the general community unless there be some doubt regarding the sincerity of his conversion. Nothing else mattered. For the Jews emigration often provided the only alternative to baptism.

But if few migrations may be said to have taken place within medieval Europe, it must not be forgotten that the Christian world was endangered by great invasions of foreign races as the Avars, the Arabs, Tartars, Mongols, and Turks. While most of these were forced mass movements of rather primitive races or tribes in quest of new land and therefore fundamentally corresponded to the old type of migration, the Arab invasion of the Iberian peninsula is of somewhat greater interest because of the high cultural level of the invaders and the lasting effects of their occupation on the culture and language of Spain.

A new epoch in migration in world history commenced with

the great geographical discoveries which opened to the peoples of Europe vast and rich continents. The decisive difference between the old migrations and the new type was that, instead of tribes or races, now individuals, families, or small groups migrated. On the other hand, even in the period we are now considering—from the discovery of America to the end of the Napoleonic wars in Europe and the end of Spanish rule in most countries of Central and South America—most migrations still shared important features with the old type. While the motives of these migrations are so manifold that it seems impossible to find a common denominator, their methods show a marked resemblance. Whether the driving power was greed for gold mixed more or less with religious zeal to convert the heathen and extend the realm of Christianity, or the indomitable will of men not to submit to religious oppression and to obey only their own conscience, nearly always force or ruse was employed against the native population, regardless of whether the new countries were densely or sparsely inhabited, whether the natives were primitive or highly cultured. The fate of the North American tribes or the native civilizations in Central and South America need not be dwelt upon.

As far as immigration restrictions and an immigration policy existed, it was the government of the home country that formed them, bearing in mind almost solely its own political, economic, and religious aims. The interests of the white overseas population were decidedly a minor consideration, while the welfare of the natives hardly mattered at all. Jealously guarding its own colonies against foreign intruders—for example, the Spanish government controlled the emigration of its own nationals at both ends—people whose presence in the mother country was unnecessary or even undesirable were permitted, if not compelled, to leave while certain other categories were encouraged to sail, as, for example, miners who were urgently needed overseas. On the whole, emigration was both restricted and directed, partly for fear that too

numerous a white population might revolt against the oppression from the mother country and fight for independence.

For a number of reasons the first quarter of the nineteenth century marks one of the greatest turning points in the history of migration. On one side of the Atlantic the end of the Napoleonic wars left great parts of Europe impoverished and exhausted, a condition naturally favorable to large-scale emigration. Further, the quite extraordinary increase in the population of nearly all European countries during the nineteenth century made unheard-of masses available for overseas colonization. Finally, most European governments adopted a liberal policy of nonintervention in the emigration question in accordance with the new theories of Adam Smith, Robert Malthus, and others who had superseded mercantilists. On the other side of the Atlantic, however, the change was even more profound. About forty years after the Declaration of Independence great South American countries—for example, Argentina in 1816—broke loose from the Spanish rule to declare themselves independent republics. In view of their vast and still very thinly populated countries and inspired by the new notions that had come from the United States, France, and England, they, too, adopted a policy of *laissez-passer*. And in the century from 1815 to the beginning of the First World War immigration—at least for Europeans—was virtually unfettered in all the republics of the Americas. We need not dwell upon the enormous improvements in the means of transportation and all the other causes that made transatlantic migrations increase by leaps and bounds, especially after such events as the Irish potato famine and the revolutions of 1848, until at last they reached truly amazing proportions. Between 1901 and 1905 an average of almost one million Europeans annually emigrated to the four most important overseas countries (United States, Canada, Brazil, and Argentina), and the following five years brought this figure to 1.4 million Europeans, of whom the United States, of course, received the lion's share. Never since have such figures been reached.

But the actual extent of this migration, stupendous though it was, does not appear as the most remarkable feature. Even more impressive in our days of disillusionment is the spirit of boundless liberalism and optimism by which both the United States and the Latin-American republics were imbued and guided in their attitude toward immigration and assimilation. For a long time even in the United States the idea prevailed that it did not really matter overmuch from which country the newcomer hailed as the American environment with its opportunities, the excellence of its Constitution and free institutions, and, last but not least, the effects of intermarriage would surely suffice to do the job and build a great nation out of the heterogeneous arrivals. An even more optimistic and cosmopolitan faith is classically expressed in the Argentinian constitution of 1853 which contains an appeal and a promise to all the inhabitants of the world desiring to live in Argentina and assures them of the right to enter, stay, or leave as they may please. The constitution specifically enjoins the government to encourage European immigration. It is the same spirit as that expressed in the famous inscription on the Statue of Liberty.

It was only toward the end of the nineteenth century that in the United States the great disillusionment about the pitfalls and problems of assimilation seriously began. In California, it is true, the agitation against Chinese immigration had started much earlier, but not before 1882 had it resulted in the Chinese Exclusion Act passed by the Federal Government. White immigration remained virtually free for more than one generation, though the idea of the absolutely reliable efficacy of the "melting pot" gradually lost its sway over public opinion. Owing to changed economic conditions, such as the exhaustion of the free land, but even more in view of the vast urban agglomerations of the "new immigration" from southern and eastern Europe which in religion, language, culture, and race was so much stranger than the "old immigration" of northern and western Europeans, not only the

expediency of immigration restrictions was discussed, but the causes, effects, and limits of assimilation were for the first time studied both empirically and theoretically.

The First World War ended the era of liberalism, in migration policy as well as in many other aspects. American opinion was shocked at the revelation of fierce alien loyalties, not only among the multilingual crowds of the "new immigration," but even among the seemingly much more assimilated Irish and German population. Powerful economic interests had long fought for immigration restrictions. But now the whole country was roused to the danger of losing its national unity both in a cultural and a political sense. After the Literacy Test of 1917 the laws of 1921 and 1924 were enacted, the last of which is still in force. We need not enter into the details of these acts, let alone the dubious bases of the quota figures. But the twofold aim of the new policy—severely to reduce the bulk of immigration and at the same time to increase the percentage of northern and western European and particularly English-speaking immigrants—was, on the whole, achieved. The total quota immigration admitted under the Act of 1929 equaled only 15 to 16 per cent of the vast numbers that had streamed to the United States in the last prewar years. In this way America gained time to "digest" the many millions of first-generation immigrants who often lived in the country without adopting its language, its ideas, or ways of life. For such adult immigrants the Americanization movement created schools which not only taught them English but gave them educational service for individual and family adjustment and preparation for naturalization and citizenship. Regarding the ultimate aims of Americanization and assimilation, two different schools of thought developed: one aiming at the assimilation of the whole population to one standard type conceived after the image of the original Anglo-Saxon settlers; the other deeming it neither possible nor right to achieve such a complete standardization. Instead of inducing the

children of immigrants to despise their un-American parents and to break with the past of their group, the champions of "cultural pluralism" prefer to encourage the new generation to blend the best cultural heritage of their own group with the living ideals of American democracy as taught in those common, free, nonsectarian, and State-controlled public schools that are probably the greatest instruments in nation making.

Whereas America, owing to her power, wealth, geographical position, and numerous population, could work out her own destiny without fear of foreign pressure, other immigration countries were less fortunate. The American quota legislation had forced the greatest part of European emigration into new channels. Latin-American countries, profoundly influenced by the example of the great sister republic, wanted to restrict their own immigration, too, to elements kindred in race, language, and religion, which practically meant immigration from the Iberian peninsula and, above all, from Italy with its teeming population and its large prewar emigration. But, on the one hand, the vast underpopulated countries for economic reasons needed large-scale immigration, and, on the other hand, their political weakness made them fear the dangers any sizable immigration in the post-war period was able to entail. One of the most unexpected consequences of the new conceptions about the international protection of minorities was that all weaker states were obsessed by the fear of international intervention in what they regarded as internal affairs, and they avoided anything that might lead to the formation of a national minority on their soil. Were there not considerable German settlements in South Brazil and Chile, complete with their own schools, and so forth, and similarly those of other nationalities? They seemed now more dangerous than ever before! But even apart from this fear of minorities complaining to the League of Nations, there were other dangers which, at least in the case of Italian immigration, proved to be more real: the danger

that the emigration country might systematically try to prevent the assimilation and integration of the immigrant in the new country and to keep him under its own tutelage and supervision. The many legal and administrative measures that were taken in various South American countries to hasten assimilation and naturalization and to restrict the influence of foreigners and indigenous minorities were partly the result of their own growing nationalism, and were partly due to the realization of dangers inherent in the countries' weakness.

In many respects the situation of France—in the postwar period one of the greatest immigration countries in the world—was even more precarious than that just described. Having lost two million dead on the battlefield and suffered the devastations of whole provinces, France was in urgent need of large-scale immigration, but at the same time afraid of its dangers. For many reasons immigration from Italy seemed the easiest and most natural solution, the Italian neighbors being in race, language, religion, and culture very close to the French and having an abundance of man power. While whole colonies of Polish miners, complete with their own priests and teachers, were brought to the devastated regions in the Northeast, Italians came in very large numbers mostly to take up agricultural work in the Southeast. The French Government, fully aware of its demographic weakness, did its utmost to convert as many as possible of these foreigners into French citizens without bothering overmuch about their true loyalties. In 1927 a law was published which greatly facilitated the acquisition of French citizenship and declared all children born in France to foreign parents future French citizens, insisting on the *ius soli* just as the South American states did. But this led to a violent clash with Italy, which we can only understand after a short consideration of Italian emigration policy.

By the time the era of liberalism had ended in the immigration countries, two European states, which before the war had lost many millions of their nationals through emigration, adopted

totalitarian systems—Russia and Italy. While Soviet Russia, characteristically enough, forbade emigration altogether,⁴ Fascist Italy, though at heart just as unwilling to waive her claim to any individual, could not dispense with emigration because of her overpopulation. Fascism therefore tried by all means to convert Italian emigration into an instrument of political expansion. The main principle of this policy was the indefinite preservation of the Italian character (*Italianità*) and nationality of the emigrant whose work abroad had to serve the interest of the Fascist state. The means of this policy naturally varied with time and circumstances; on the whole, however, the following features were characteristic: Emigration under Fascism was by no means free; the government issued or withheld emigration passports according to its own economic and political needs, while certain categories of persons usually received passports and others were forbidden to leave. Further, the government determined the destination of the emigrant. It was one of the aims of Italian emigration policy to create solid Italian blocks in Tunisia and southeastern France, in support of its claims for a revision of the territorial frontier both in Europe and Africa. But if the emigrant and his progeny were indefinitely to preserve their Italian nationality, Mussolini obviously would not recognize the *ius soli* giving a child the nationality of its birth country. On this point, Fascist claims clashed with those of France as well as of the South American states. But France was in a weaker position than the overseas countries. The Fascist Government, for example, could and did order expectant mothers in France who were near their confinement to return to Italy so that the children might be Italians. But they could obviously not return from South America. In general, France was compelled to give in on many points on which the Latin-American states fully stood

⁴ At certain times, in the twenties, emigration passports were issued in individual cases, especially to elderly people with relatives abroad, on condition that a considerable sum was paid in foreign currency!

their ground, especially in the fall of 1927 at the Interparliamentarian Conference in Rio de Janeiro.

But in order to realize the full extent of Fascist ambitions in emigration policy, we must consider the measures—either actually taken or prepared for use—to prevent any assimilation of the Italians abroad. Apart from exceptional cases, there was not to be any emigration of isolated individuals. Italian settlements with Italian priests, teachers, Fascist secretaries, and credit institutes under the supervision and even under the jurisdiction of the Italian consulates—such was the ideal of Fascist emigration policy. Certainly one of its most effective measures in preventing assimilation was the Italian school system which, after Giovanni Gentile had reformed it in 1923, would teach youth to worship the Fascist state and despise democracy. Working in close co-ordination with the Catholic Church on one side and with such Fascist youth organizations as *Balilla* on the other, Italian teachers certainly would prevent the growth of any loyalty to the immigration country in the hearts of the young generation.

The South American states refused all demands that were inconsistent with their sovereignty. Mussolini, thereupon, sharply restricted Italian emigration to South America causing thereby severe economic hardships.

Shortly afterwards, in the fall of 1929, the world economic crisis began, hitting first the great food- and raw-material producing countries. Immigration restrictions spread like wildfire, as no country wanted to increase the number of its unemployed. Since then we have not had one single year of normal migration. Political developments have replaced the emigrants who seek a better lot in a new country with refugees and displaced persons fleeing for their lives.

When real peace returns it will be time to lay the foundations for an international migration policy.

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